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CORRIGENDA MILLERENSIS  
REVISITED

## A CONNECTICUT COPPERS UPDATE

1785-1788

by

Jeff Rock

Part 1 of 2 parts

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# CORRIGENDA MILLERENSIS REVISITED

## A Connecticut Coppers UPDATE, 1785-1788

by Jeff Rock; San Diego, CA

### Part 1 of 2 parts

#### INTRODUCTION

The field of Connecticut Coppers, issued from 1785 to 1788 inclusive, has long been one filled with more than its share of mysteries offering many fertile avenues for research and publication. Unfortunately, until relatively recently it was one of the most overlooked and ignored areas in all of Early American numismatics, with no more than a handful of collectors seriously interested in it. Perhaps the large number of varieties (a good number of which differ only by minor changes in punctuation or positions of the legends), the great rarity of many of them (making it next to impossible to assemble more than 60% of the known varieties), and the general lack of really choice specimens scared many collectors away. In any event, the recent dispersal of several major collections, including those of Q. David Bowers (which contained the finest specimens from the holdings of Ted Craige, Cyril Hawley and Damon Douglas) which was sold in the 1975 Early American Coppers (E.A.C.) auction sale, and those of Alan Kessler, Robert Vlack, Richard Buckley, Frederick Taylor and Herbert Oeschner, have given present-day collectors the chance to obtain many varieties that have been off the market for years. This has led to an increase in the number of collectors interested in the series, as well as the amount of serious attention given it by researchers.

The major reference work on this series is *The State Coinage of Connecticut*, by Henry Clay Miller, published by the American Numismatic Society (A.N.S.) in 1919, and reprinted several times since. In the year following the publication of the Miller work, an article entitled *Additions and Corrections*, written by Frederick Canfield and Hillyer Ryder, was also published by the A.N.S., and it is present in all of the reprints of Miller's work. Most collectors also own a copy of the 1975 E.A.C. catalogue, written by Walter Breen (which contains a good amount of information never before published and unavailable elsewhere) as well as the recent Taylor sale held by Bowers & Merena (which also presented much new information). Numerous articles on Connecticut have appeared in *The Colonial Newsletter* (CNL) and, occasionally, in other publications.

Edward R. Barnsley's articles, "Miller's Connecticut Listing Updated" (which appeared in Volume V, Number 3 (1964) of *The Colonial Newsletter*) and "Corrigenda Millerensis" (which appeared in Volume 11, Number 1 (1972) of CNL) have been the only convenient sources of information regarding the new discoveries in the Connecticut field. As those listings are now over twenty years old, and several new varieties have since been found, collectors may like to update their copies of the Miller work with the following information. Since the publication of "Miller", a total of 50 additions (including six mules), 12 deletions and 15 numbering changes have been made in the series. At present count, including the mules, there are 354 known die variety combinations of Connecticut coppers. A total of 213 obverse and 199 reverse dies are listed, though due to recuttings, biennial pairings and mulings produced from dies intended for other series, the actual number of dies used for striking Connecticut Coppers may have been as low as 195 obverse and 194 reverse dies. A tabulation of all known die variety combinations and their current revised rarity ratings is presented in Appendix A. Photographs and detailed descriptions of many recent discoveries will be presented in Appendix B which is planned as Part 2 of this paper with publication anticipated in early 1992.

A breakdown of the number of dies and die variety combinations by each year is as follows:

- 1785** There are known, today, 30 combinations of 21 obverse dies and 22 reverse dies; however, there are some uncertainties associated with these numbers. There is a good possibility, for example, that obverse 1 and reverse E are actually configurations recut from 6.3 and G.2, respectively. In other words they were struck from the same "chunk of metal" but one which had been so extensively reworked that the product from that "chunk of metal" was classified by Miller as a separate coinage die variety (and it should be noted that not all reworked dies were given separate designations, as the recuttings of obverses 1.2 and 4 will show). In this case five die variety combinations originated from two "dies", one produced two varieties of coinage, and the other three varieties. We suspect that there are many such reworkings within the Connecticut series, most of which remain undiscovered today. Accordingly -- when one speaks of numbers of die varieties and dies, they do not necessarily bear a one to one correspondence. A single die would often produce more than a single die variety.
- 1786.** In this year we find 42 die variety combinations of 25 obverse and 27 reverse dies. This count includes three biennial dies, representing yet another uncertainty in counting. Obverse 4.2 of 1786 is also known as Obverse 7.2 of 1785, and Obverse 5.3 of 1786 is also known as Obverse 7 of 1787. Similarly, Obverse 7 of 1786 is also known as Obverse 29.1 of 1787. A chart of these biennial dies is shown at the bottom of the following page.
- 1787** In 1787 we have 240 combinations of 136 obverse dies and 129 reverse dies. The obverse die count includes Obverse 101 (a counterfeit Atlee die) while the reverse die count includes Reverse G.2 (originally known paired with counterfeit Atlee Halfpence Obverse 101) and reverses T-1, T-2 and T.3, which may prove to be recuttings of reverses r.2, r.1 and r.3 respectively. In addition, the obverse die count contains 10 dies that are biennial, and these too are tabulated on the chart.
- 1788** Here there are 42 combinations of 31 obverse and 21 reverse dies. The obverse die count includes obverses 100, 101, 125, 128 and 129, and are described in the section on mules, page 1253. The reverse die count also includes Reverse I, a standard Vermont reverse. This obverse die count includes 8 which are also paired with 1787 dated reverses in the biennial relationship.

The Connecticut Coppers coins, bearing the AUCTORI CONNEC and related legends, for the years 1785, 1786, 1788 and 1787 comprises the largest grouping of Early American coinages. It is a difficult series with which to work not only because of the large numbers but because of the close similarities of many of the design configurations and the many changes, additions and deletions to the original (and often inaccurate) listings of Hall, Miller, and other early collectors. It continues to change as new discoveries are made and as advanced technologies are applied to the study of the series.

This leads directly to the future of research with the Connecticut Coppers series. Past views of the State coinages as isolated distinct issues, with relatively no interaction between the various mints, engravers and workmen, are giving way to fresh new ideas that have tremendous potential. Viewing the Connecticuts in a synergistic fashion, that is, as only a small segment of the total picture, related to and influenced by all the other coinages of the period will doubtless create many more problems for the collector and the researcher, adding many new unanswered questions to the pile we already have, just as surely as many of these

questions will soon be answered by the application of the many new technologies that are being developed. This way of looking at things implies that the whole is greater than the sum of the individual parts; however, until we have an accurate view of all those individual parts, we won't be able to see the larger picture.

A major problem in collecting the series has been the absence of readily available photographs of all the die varieties. The notebooks of Dr. Hall contained only written descriptions, and Miller's work included only five plates illustrating some 12 specimens per plate, a very small percentage of the total. The 1975 E.A.C. auction sale catalogued by Walter Breen and the 1987 Taylor Sale catalogued by Michael Hodder both illustrate many varieties not illustrated in "Miller" and are an integral part of the library of most collectors of the Connecticut Coppers. In most cases new discoveries have been illustrated in a fragmentary manner, many of them in CNL. Others have never been illustrated and in a few cases precise descriptions do not exist. The author and ye Editor are working to overcome some of these problems by planning in Part 2 to include photographs and descriptions of most of the more elusive specimens. In several cases we have photographs but their poor quality precludes, at present, publication by the halftone process. This second part will hopefully fill in the gaps until a later time when better specimens and photographs become available.

The author and editor trust that the material presented in Part 1 will provide assistance to present day collectors of this fascinating group of Early American coins and permit them to satisfactorily update their copies of "Miller".

Table 1 -- Biennial Die Parings of the Connecticut Coppers

1785	1786	1787	1788
7.2	4.2		
	5.3	7	
	7	29.1	
		1.1	1
		11.1	7
		12	8
		32.4	16.4
		32.5	16.7
		32.8	16.2
		50	17
		101	101

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## THE ISSUES OF 1785

### ADDITIONS:

- 3.1-F.3** -- Discovered around 1955 from the Frederick Canfield specimen in the American Numismatic Society collection (that specimen, although marked "3F3" in the left field, remained unattributed until at least two decades after the New Jersey Historical Society donated the Canfield collection to the A.N.S.). First reported by the late Richard Picker in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume 2, No.1. At least seven specimens now known, including ANS, Norweb, Craige-Bowers-EAC '75-Taylor, and two in the Barnsley/CNL Reference collection.
- 7.2-D** -- Discovered by Frederick Canfield shortly after the publication of Miller's work, and first published in the *Additions and Corrections* printed the following year. Canfield's specimen, now in the A.N.S., has "NEW?" written in white ink on the obverse, and the box holding the coin is marked "Unique? Not in Miller's original list." Around a dozen specimens, possibly more that are attributed only as 7-D's, are known, including the Taylor coin and two from the 1975 E.A.C. sale.
- 7.3-D** -- Discovered by Robert Lindesmith in 1973, the variety was not confirmed until Lot 2332 appeared in the Frederick B. Taylor Sale of March 26-28, 1987, and described there as a 7.1-D. A discussion of this die and the circumstances surrounding the problems of confirming the variety will be presented in a companion article prepared by the Editor -- The Elusive Connecticut Obverse 7.3 of 1785, which will appear in conjunction with Part 2 of this article, or perhaps earlier.

### DELETIONS:

- 3.5-K.2** -- Canfield and Ryder confirmed Miller's suggestion that reverses B and K.2 were actually from the same die. The combination 3.5-B was kept, and reverse K.2 was dropped from the listing.
- 3.5-L** -- Although listed in Ned Barnsley's article in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume V, No. 3, this die combination has remained unverified. Walter Breen originally noted this combination in the early 1950's, and, two decades later Barnsley knew of two specimens, presumably including the "discovery" coin. Both of those specimens have proven to be worn examples of other known varieties. In 1971 the late Ted Cralge suggested dropping this variety and the following year Barnsley deleted it from his listings. Therefore, the variety is being deleted from the roster of known Connecticut copper varieties.
- 5.2-F.5** -- Obverse dies 5.1 and 5.2 were discovered to actually be the same die, in different die states. The latter has been dropped from the listing.

### DESIGNATION CHANGES:

- 4.2-F.4** -- Should be changed to **4.2-F.6**. In April, 1966, Eric Newman discovered that the reverse of the very rare "Second African Head" was actually different than that found on the more common variety. The new reverse die was given the next available number in the F family of dies.
- 5.1-F.5** -- Should be changed to **5-F.5** (see **5.2-F.5** in DELETIONS, above).
- 6.4-K.1** -- Should be changed to **6.4-K**, as no reverse K.2 exists (see **3.5-K.2** in DELETIONS, above)
- 7-D** -- Should be changed to **7.1-D** (see **7.2-D** and **7.3** in ADDITIONS, above).

## THE ISSUES OF 1786

### ADDITIONS:

**2.3-T --** First reported by C. Wyllys Betts in *Counterfeit Half-Pence Current in the American Colonies*, 1886, and illustrated there-in by a line engraving. A contemporary counterfeit of the 1785 "African Head" variety, this coin may have been produced at the enigmatic Bungtown mints of North Swansea, Massachusetts. This and the following three varieties are unique in the series of Connecticut coppers, as they all bear the British arms on the shield on the reverse. The numerical designation was provided by Eric P. Newman in 1963. The only known specimens are the Betts coin (mistakenly attributed to the A.N.S. collection in Barnsley's article), it's present whereabouts, today, is unknown, and another in a prominent St.Louis collection.

**2.4-U --** Discovered by Al Hoch around 1963, and authenticated by both Eric Newman and Walter Breen. Probably made by the same engraver responsible for the variety known as 2.3-T, listed above. The reverse has the regular legend, and, like the above bears the British arms on the reverse shield. The discovery specimen is now in the Barnsley/CNL Reference collection and another is reported, but not yet verified.

**2.5-V --** Another counterfeit, and again, probably cut by the same hand as the above two varieties. Discovered in 1975 by Edward R. Barnsley while attributing photographs taken by Al Hoch. This is the third variety bearing the British arms on the shield. The discovery coin, whereabouts now unknown, is the only example of this variety reported.

**\*\*NOTE TO COLLECTORS\*\*** *Since all four or five specimens of the above three varieties are weakly and unevenly struck, on wretched planchets, there is a strong possibility that the same reverse die was used on all three. The branch details visible on reverses T and V are identical, as are some other details. Photographic overlays may determine this question, but until then, we have elected to list each variety as having a distinctly different reverse.*

**2.6-BRI --** Also discovered by Barnsley in the same batch of photographs in 1975, this variety also bears the British arms on the reverse shield. It is unique in the Connecticut series, though, as instead of the usually-seen reverse legend INDE ET LIB (or a variation thereof), it has the legend BRITA NNIA. The date actually reads 17886, the two 8's slightly overlapping. This is probably the same piece mentioned by Betts who, on page 8 of his 1886 work on counterfeit halfpence, wrote "...I have recently seen a Connecticut cent having an obverse very similar to No. 7 [the variety now known as 2.3-T], and with the reverse from the same rude die as the 1786 halfpenny, thus proving the latter was of American manufacture." The halfpenny in question was illustrated as Figure 8 in the Betts work and is quite similar to the reverse of this Connecticut. This piece is depicted on the photographic plates prepared by Robert A. Vlack in 1974 entitled "Early English Counterfeit Halfpence Struck in America," and is given the attribution CT-86A. This variety shares a reverse with Vlack Obverse 16, a rude obverse die of the GEORGIUS III REX type. The similarities indicate that obverses 16 and CT and reverse 86A (per Vlack's attribution numbers) were all cut by the same hand. Walter Breen has assigned these pieces to the enigmatic mints in North Swansea, Massachusetts. Only one specimen traced, the discovery coin, now in a St. Louis collection.

**4.1-C --** Although listed by both Sylvester Sage Crosby and Dr. Thomas Hall (in his later notebook), Miller could not locate a specimen and dropped it from his listing. It surfaced again in the late 1940's and Walter Breen made rubbings of the reverse in 1951. A description was published by Ned Barnsley in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume II, Number 2. Two examples known, the one Breen made the rubbing from (whereabouts unknown) and the coin sold as part of the F. B.Taylor collection.

## THE ISSUES OF 1786, Continued

- 4.2-S** -- Apparently discovered by Norman Bryant in the early 1960's, this combines an obverse die listed by Miller with a reverse die unknown to him (see 5.14-S, below). Over a half dozen known, including Barnsley/CNL Reference Collection, Taylor, 1975 E.A.C. and two formerly in the Rock collection (including the finest known), now in a prominent California collection.
- 5.9-L** -- First noticed in the 1950's. Several specimens now known, including W.P. Keller, the Bryant-Bowers-1975 E.A.C-Taylor coin, one in the A.N.S. (from a trade with Richard Picker) and a couple more low grade examples.
- 5.13-I** -- Discovered by Frederick Canfield after the publication of the Miller work. His specimen, now in the American Numismatic Society, is marked "NEW" and has two arrows, in white ink, pointing to the bridge of the nose and the top of the laureate wreath. A second specimen was discovered in 1988 and promptly became part of a California collection.
- 5.14-S** -- Discovered by Frederick Canfield and described in *Additions and Corrections*, the reverse die features a sword hilt and guard, which makes it unique among the Connecticut series. This die was later found to be paired with Obverse 4.2, described above. Around twenty specimens now accounted for, including three from the Taylor sale, two in the A.N.S., two in the Barnsley/CNL Reference collection and two from the Stepney Hoard. Several others exist in private collections.

## DELETIONS:

- 3-D.5** -- Although not listed by Miller, it was listed by Canfield and Ryder in *Additions and Corrections*. The Canfield coin, now in the A.N.S., is actually a very early cast copy of **3-D.1**, with the minor differences having occurred in the casting process.
- 4.2-G** -- Another variety discovered by Walter Breen, this one turned up as part of the so-called "Stepney Hoard." It was described by Breen in his contemporary article on coin hoards that appeared in *The Numismatist*, January, 1952. The discovery coin was later in the collection of the late Ted Craig, who determined that it was actually a known variety, most likely **4.1-G**. Accordingly, it has been dropped from the census.
- 5.15-S** -- Another specimen first listed in the *Additions and Corrections*. This is actually a very late die state of **5.14-S**, with a cud developed at K-5 on the obverse. A specimen of this die state was offered in the Frederick B. Taylor sale.
- 8-O.1** -- This bizarre piece, the obverse of which was illustrated in the Miller work, is actually a double struck specimen of **5.4-O.1**, with the mutually obliterative striking causing the obverse legend to read "UCTORI CONNEC." It was dropped from the Miller listing in 1958.

## DESIGNATION CHANGE:

- 5.12-L** -- Should be changed to **5.2-L**. Canfield and Ryder reported that these two obverse dies were actually the same.

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## THE ISSUES OF 1787

### ADDITIONS:

- 1.2-mm** -- Discovered in 1960 by Robert A. Vlack, this combines the "Muttonhead" obverse, in its earliest die state, with a new reverse, thoroughly described by Vlack in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume II, Number 2. Four specimens positively traced: the discovery coin, ex Vlack, Barnsley, Stack's 11/74, Bowers & Merena 11/90 - Bronx collector; one in the Barnsley/CNL Reference collection, one sold privately by Barnsley, and one ex Stack's, 3/73-Taylor-Bronx collector. Another is rumored but unverified.
- 8-a.1** -- Brought to light in Washington, D.C. in 1961, this coin was first described as being an **8-BB** (*Numismatic Journal*, Volume I, Number 2). After being acquired by Ned Barnsley, it was noted that the reverse, although similar to BB, was actually the a.1 die. The present location of the discovery specimen is unknown, though another specimen was discovered, misattributed, in a bulk lot of the Frederick Taylor sale, and is now in an East Coast collection.
- 16.2-NN.2** -- Discovered by Robert A. Vlack in 1977 and first described in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume XVII, Number 3. Two examples traced, the discovery coin, and one sold in the Taylor sale which was mistakenly catalogued as being the discovery coin.
- 32.4-F** -- Although known to Miller, this variety was mis-classified by him as 55-F, under the impression that the obverse bust was mailed (in actuality, it is a draped bust). This is not Crosby's "rare type of Obv. 32," which is really the variety known as 50-F (large letters, obverse legend reading AUCTORI CONNLC). More than a dozen known, including two in the Barnsley/CNL Reference collection, two in the A.N.S., the Taylor coin and one formerly in the Rock collection.
- 32.4-Z.20** -- First reported as #1851 in an inventory of the Dr. Hall collection, and described by Walter Breen in 1951. The Hall specimen was sold as part of the Norweb sale. Two others are known, one in the A.N.S., and one that may have been sold privately by Barnsley.
- 32.9-X.7** -- Discovered by Frederick Canfield and first reported in *Additions and Corrections*. The discovery coin is now in the A.N.S., one is in the Barnsley/CNL Reference collection, and two others were formerly in the collection of Norman Bryant (one of which is probably the coin in the Barnsley/CNL Reference collection).
- 33.7-Z.9** -- Discovered by Walter Breen in 1951, that coin, the only one currently known, was reported to be in the Frederick B. Taylor collection, but did not appear in the sale of that collection. No other specimen has been reported, and photographs of the discovery coin apparently do not exist.
- 33.12-Z.10** -- Discovered by California dealer-collector Jesse Patrick in 1982 (probably the farthest West that a new variety has ever been found) and reported in a front page article of *Coin World*. No other examples known. If the discovery coin or another example of this variety does not show up, the variety may be dropped from future listings.
- 33.14-Z.2** -- This variety was discovered by Robert A. Vlack in 1962. The discovery coin is now in the Barnsley/CNL Reference collection, while another was rumored to have been in the Frederick B. Taylor collection, but, again, did not appear in that sale.



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## THE ISSUES OF 1787, Continued

- 33.19-Z.4** -- Discovered by John M. Richardson in the mid-1940's, and first reported in *Numismatic Review*, Volume III, Number 1. The Richardson-Bryant-Bowers-1975 E.A.C.-Taylor coin, one in the Barnsley/CNL Reference collection, and another specimen reported by a private collector are the only examples known to exist. All are low grade.
- 33.21-k.4** -- Also discovered and published by John M. Richardson in the *Numismatic Review*. One was reported as being in the A.N.S. (though it must have been traded away in the last twenty years), one ex Craige (possibly the Picker-Taylor example) and two others rumored.
- 33.21-EE** -- Discovered by C.F. Luther in 1928, it was originally misattributed as 33.46-EE, the obverse die not then being recognized as a known one. It later passed into the John M. Richardson collection, and was correctly attributed and described in the same *Numismatic Review* article as the above two varieties. The Luther-Richardson-Bryant-Bowers coin appeared in the 1975 E.A.C. sale. Less than ten others known, including two in the Taylor sale.
- 33.28-Z.7** -- Discovered by a California dealer in 1984, this specimen has remained unpublished. This is the popular "Snipe Nose" obverse, paired with a previously known reverse. Others may exist unattributed.
- 33.29-Z.25** -- Discovered by the late Cyril H. Hawley and first reported in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume II, Number 3, where a description of the new reverse die was published. Three examples traced, the Hawley coin, the Bryant-Bowers-1975 E.A.C. specimen and one more, probably ex Ted Craige.
- 33.35-Z.1** -- Reported by T.V. Buttrey in 1962 (*The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume III, Number 1) from the specimen in the Yale University collection (one of only a small number of colonials not stolen in the May, 1965 robbery of the Yale Numismatic Collection). One other specimen was discovered by this writer in 1985 and is now in a California collection.
- 33.36-T.3** -- Discovered by Ted Craige in November, 1965, and first reported in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume VI, Number 3. The Craige coin was later ex Bowers-1975 E.A.C. and Taylor. Another specimen has been reported. but not yet verified.
- 33.37-Z.11** -- Reported by Canfield and Ryder in *Additions and Corrections*. One in the A.N.S., one formerly in the Rock collection (probably ex Ted Craige), and another reported to be in the Hessburg collection in the 1970's, but presently untraced. No other examples reported.
- 33.39-Z.13** -- Discovered by Norman Bryant and first reported by John M. Richardson in 1946. Bryant eventually had two coins, one of which appeared in the 1975 E.A.C. sale and the other which was sold to Frederick Taylor by Richard Picker. Other examples include one in the Yale University collection, one in the Barnsley/CNL Reference collection and a couple more, in lower grades, which are rumored, but not yet verified.
- 33.46-Z.21** -- Reported by Ned Barnsley in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume II, Number 3. One in the A.N.S., one in the W.P. Keller collection, two in the Taylor sale (one of which was ex Stack's sale of February, 1973) and another rumored.

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## THE ISSUES OF 1787, Continued

- 33.46-Z.22** -- This is the most recent discovery in the Connecticut series. It was sold in the September, 1989 Stack's auction, where it was catalogued as "33.46-Z.2." Most collectors assumed that this was a typographical error for "33.46-Z.21," which is described above. An astute collector, however, carefully checked the reverse and found it to be the rare Z.22 reverse. The discovery coin was fully discussed in the December, 1989 issue of *The Colonial Newsletter*. To date no other examples have been reported.
- 33.47-TT** -- Discovered in 1969 by Ted Craige, and reported in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume VIII, Number 3. The Craige-Bowers-1975 E.A.C.-Taylor coin is the only example positively traced, though another specimen is reported but still unverified.
- 33.48-Z.25** -- Discovered by Richard Picker in 1970 while preparing the Massachusetts Historical Society collection for auction. That coin, ex MHS-Q.David Bowers-1975 E.A.C-Picker-Taylor-Rock-California collection, and another, ex Hines-Taylor-Long Island collector, are the only examples of this variety known.
- 37.15-h.3** -- Reported by Canfield and Ryder in *Additions and Corrections*. The Canfield coin is in the A.N.S., Three others known, two of which are ex Bryant (one of those was the Bowers-1975 E.A.C.-Taylor coin, and the other probably the Barnsley/CNL Reference Collection example), and another very low grade example now in an East Coast collection.
- 43.2-X.4** -- Also reported by Canfield and Ryder. By far, the most common "Not in Miller" variety, with over 35 specimens accounted for. The obverse is actually a reground and slightly reworked state of Obverse 32.3, causing the E in CONNEC to look like an F. Unlike some of the other regrindings, this one actually changed the obverse legend, and as such, is listed by a different obverse number in the Miller taxonomy. Hopefully, future reference works can find a more equitable way of dealing with such die states. This variety is also often found misattributed as a **32.4-X.4** (and vice-versa).
- 48-k.3** -- First reported by Robert Vlack in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume VI, Number 5. That coin appeared in the 1975 E.A.C. and Taylor sales. Other known examples are NERCG 7/76: 152, an unattributed specimen that surfaced at the 1986 E.A.C. convention and a fourth, also discovered unattributed, now in a Bronx, NY collection.
- 49.2-Z.26** -- Discovered by Steve Tanenbaum in early 1986, this variety was verified by Walter Breen, Mike Ringo and this writer. Both dies are new, unusual as the obverse is a distinct type in the series. No other examples reported.
- 52-G.2** -- Discovered by Ted Craige and first reported in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume VII, Number 4. The reverse is the same one commonly found on the Machin's Mills-Atlee halfpence variety with the "small head" (attributed as Vlack 13-87CT). The discovery coin is ex Wayne Raymond-Major Alfred Walters-New Netherland's Coin Co.-Craige-Bowers-1975 E.A.C. sale. One other is known and a third is rumored, but unverified.

## THE ISSUES OF 1787, Continued

- 56-RR.2** -- Discovered by C.F. Luther in 1928; a brief description of the coin was published in *The Numismatist*, Volume 41, page 138. When the coin was acquired by John M. Richardson, a description was published in *Numismatic Review*, Volume III, Number 1. Walter Breen first assigned the designator "56-xx" to the variety in 1952, and it has been cataloged as such to this day. However, the better of the two coins that appeared in the Taylor sale distinctly shows a hyphen between ET and LIB, making it part of the RR family of dies (which was, interestingly enough, the attribution given to it by Alan Kessler in Volume 8, Number 3 of *The Colonial Newsletter*. Ted Craige, who in the following issue contended that it was an "xx" reverse was able to view two specimens in 1971 and agreed then that it was from the RR family).

Four examples known, one in the A.N.S., two in the 1975 E.A.C. sale (the Craige and Kessler coins, the former which appeared in the Taylor sale, the latter was unsold at that sale and later offered privately to Ned Barnsley. It's present whereabouts are unknown) and one in the John Carter Brown Library sale (which also appeared in the Taylor sale) Another specimen is reported, but unverified.

**\*\*\*NOTE TO COLLECTORS\*\*\*** *The following varieties were claimed to be in the collection of a single collector around fifteen years ago. As they have never been seen, verified, or published, their existence is highly doubtful. They are reported here-in only for the sake of accuracy, and until their existence is verified, will not be listed as actual varieties of Connecticut coppers. The pieces in question are said to be: 33.46-Z.25, 33.47-Z.21 and 56-L.*

### DELETIONS:

- 16.5-u** -- The coin Miller described is actually a double struck example of 16.5-p. This very coin appeared in the 1975 E.A.C. sale.
- 37.4-RR** -- No example of this variety has ever been seen. All examples reported to date have proven to be worn specimens of the rather similar 39.2-ee (as were the pieces originally in the Barnsley and Taylor collections). According to Barnsley, "...the existence of 37.4-RR [should] be indicated by a question mark..." We have elected to drop it from the listing.
- 55-F** -- This variety does not exist. It is actually variety 32.4-F described above, but mistakenly called a "Mailed Bust Left" obverse type by Miller.

### DESIGNATION CHANGES:

- 3-G** -- Should be changed to **3-G.1** due to the discovery of Reverse G.2 described above.
- 37.10-RR** -- Should be changed to **37.10-RR.1**, due to the discovery of reverse RR.2 described above.
- 43-Y** -- Should be changed to **43.1-Y** as there is now an Obverse 43.2 (see above).
- 49-Z.1** -- Should be changed to **49.1-Z.1** due to the discovery of Obverse 49.2 (above).
- 52-G** -- Should be changed to **52-G.1** due to the discovery of Reverse G.2 described above.
- 56-xx** -- Should be changed to **56-RR.2** as described above.

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## THE ISSUES OF 1788

### ADDITIONS:

- 4.1-B.2** -- First reported by Canfield and Ryder in *Additions and Corrections*. The only known specimen, marked "NEW" is still in the A.N.S. collection. No other examples have been reported.
- 14.1-S** -- Reported by T.V. Buttrey in *The Colonial Newsletter*, Volume III, Number 1. Four specimens accounted for, one in the Yale University collection, one counterstamped "JW" in the Buckley-Taylor collections, one formerly in the Rock collection and another recently cherry picked by an East Coast token and medal dealer.
- 16.4-A.2** -- Also reported by Buttrey, in the same issue of *The Colonial Newsletter* as the above coin. The discovery coin is still in the Yale University collection. Another was ex Bowers-1975 E.A.C. sale, and a third is rumored.
- 16.7-P** -- Known to Miller, but mistakenly called **15.3-P**. The discovery coin, ex Carl Wurtzbach-Frederick Canfield is still in the A.N.S. collection. Less than ten now known, including the two examples that were in the Bryant collection (one of which appeared in the 1975 E.A.C. sale), two formerly in the Rock collection (one of which may have been a Bryant piece), one in the Barnsley/CNL Reference collection and one in the Taylor sale. Most surviving examples are in poor states of preservation and would not grade better than Very Good.

### DELETIONS:

- 15.3-P** -- This is actually **16.7-P**, listed above.
- 16.6-H** -- The obverse die, as mentioned by Miller, is actually a reground and slightly reworked version of Obverse 16.5. Dr. Hall, in his later notes, does not even mention an obverse 16.6. There are many other examples of reworked dies in the Connecticut series, and unless they change the legend or punctuation of a die (such as 1787 Obverse 32.2 which later became Obverse 43.2, described above), it is not accorded a new designation. Obverses 1.2 and 4 of 1787 were both extensively reworked and neither is given a different designation based on die state. In this spirit, Obverse 16.6 has been dropped from the listing, while the original die, Obverse 16.5, has been kept. We encourage collectors and dealers to note whether any pieces offered are of the early (perfect) or late (reworked) die states, as there surely is some interest in collecting pieces in different die states. For the record, the reworked version appears to be slightly scarcer than the perfect strike.

### DESIGNATION CHANGES:

- 3.1-B.1** -- Should be changed to **3-B.1**, as this and Obverse "3.2" listed below are actually the same die, though in different die states (when used for combination 3-B.2, this die was worn, partially ground down and injured).
- 3.2-B.2** -- Should be changed to **3-B.2**, as explained above.
- 7-F** -- Should be changed to **7-F.2** since the discovery that the reverse die on this, and the variety to follow, are actually different.
- 12.1-F** -- Should be changed to **12.1-F.1**, as described above.

## THE MULINGS OF 1787 AND 1788

In addition to the varieties with the well-known AUCTORI CONNEC legends on the obverse, there are also six mules, each of which combines a Connecticut reverse with an obverse designed for another series. These are actively collected with the Connecticut issues, and all have been given designations in the "100" series for the obverse dies, to distinguish them from actual Connecticut coinages. These are as follows:

1787 **101-G.2** which combines the obverse of a Machin's Mills-Atlee halfpence, with reverse G.2, described above. Also known as **Vlack 13-87CT**.

1788 **101-D** combines the same obverse with Reverse D of 1788. Also known as **Vlack 13-88CT**.

1788 **100-I** combines a different Machin's Mills-Atlee halfpence obverse, with well-known reverse I of 1788. Also known as **Vlack 22-88VT** and, as a Vermont copper, **Ryder 31, Bressett 24-U**.

1788 **125-I** combines the same reverse with an obverse for a Vermont copper. Also known as **Ryder 25, Bressett 16-U**.

1788 **128-I** pairs the reverse used in the above coin with a different Vermont obverse. This one is also known as **Ryder 28, Bressett 21-U**.

1788 **129-I** uses the same reverse with yet another Vermont obverse. Also known as **Ryder 29, Bressett 22-U**.

### Appendix A Die Varieties Tabulation >>>>>>



3



Typical reference illustration for the  
American collector of the mid-19th century.

A Connecticut Copper of 1787  
from W. C. Prime's  
Coins, Medals, and Seals,  
Ancient and Modern.  
1861

14 years before "Crosby"  
58 years before "Miller"

# APPENDIX A: DIE VARIETIES OF CONNECTICUT COPPERS, 1785-1788 as of May 1991

Additions & Designation Changes to "Miller" shown in **bold face type**

## THE ISSUES OF 1785

VARIETY	RARITY
1-E	5
2-A.1	4
2-A.4	5
3.1-A.3	4
<b>3.1-F.3</b>	7
3.1-L	High 4
3.2-L	4
3.3-F.3	4
3.4-F.1	3
3.4-F.2	2
3.5-B	4
4.1-F.4	1
<b>4.2-F.6</b>	8
4.3-A.2	3
4.3-D	4
4.4-C	3
4.4-D	7
<b>5-F.5</b>	4
6.1-A.1	Low 5
6.2-F.1	3
6.3-G.1	3
6.3-G.2	4
6.4-F.5	High 6
6.4-I	3
6.4-K	6
6.5-M	6
<b>7.1-D</b>	Low 6
<b>7.2-D</b>	Low 7
<b>7.3-D</b>	High 7
8-D	6

## THE ISSUES OF 1786

VARIETY	RARITY
1-A	Low 5
2.1-A	3
2.1-D.3	7
2.2-D.2	7
<b>2.3-T</b>	8
<b>2.4-U</b>	8
<b>2.5-V</b>	8
<b>2.6-BRI</b>	8
3-D.1	High 5
3-D.4	7
<b>4.1-C</b>	8
4.1-G	2
<b>4.2-G</b>	8
4.2-R	7
<b>4.2-S</b>	Low 7
5.1-H.1	5
5.2-H.1	High 5
5.2-I	3
<b>5.2-L</b>	Low 6
5.2-O.2	Low 6
5.3-B.2	High 7
5.3-G	High 7
5.3-N	2
5.4-G	2
5.4-N	High 6
5.4-O.1	2
5.5-M	3
5.6-M	5
5.7-H.1	Low 5
5.7-O.2	6
5.8-F	High 5
5.8-H.2	High 5
5.8-O.2	High 4
5.9-B.1	6
<b>5.9-L</b>	High 7
5.9-Q	Low 6
5.10-L	6
5.10-P	High 6
5.11-R	Low 6
<b>5.13-I</b>	8
<b>5.14-S</b>	6
6-K	Low 6
7-K	7

### RARITY SCALE:

- R-1.....1,250+ specimens existent  
 R-2.....501-1,250 specimens existent  
 R-3.....201-500 specimens existent  
 R-4.....76-200 specimens existent  
 R-5.....31-75 specimens existent  
 R-6.....13-30 specimens existent  
 R-7.....4-12 specimens existent  
 R-8.....1-3 specimens existent

## THE ISSUES OF 1787

VARIETY	RARITY	VARIETY	RARITY
1.1-A	3	26-a.1	Low 6
1.1-VV	High 6	26-kk.1	Low 6
1.2-C	3	26-AA	5
<b>1.2-mm</b>	High 7	27-a.1	6
1.3-L	6	28-m	4
1.4-WW	8	28-n	7
2-B	3	28-o	High 6
<b>3-G.1</b>	6	29.1-a.2	7
4-L	1	29.1-n	High 6
5-P	6	29.1-p	6
6.1-M	1	29.2-N	7
6.2-M	3	29.2-o	7
7-I	High 6	30-X.1	Low 6
8-N	4	30-hh.1	2
8-O	3	31.1-r.4	2
<b>8-a.1</b>	8	31.1-gg.1	3
9-D	5	31.2-r.3	2
9-E	6	32.1-X.3	Low 6
9-R	6	32.2-X.1	2
10-E	Low 6	32.2-X.2	3
11.1-E	2	32.2-X.4	Low 6
11.2-K	3	32.3-X.4	2
11.3-K	8	<b>32.4-F</b>	High 6
12-Q	5	32.4-X.5	6
13-D	4	32.4-Z.3	High 6
14-H	4	<b>32.4-Z.20</b>	High 7
15-F	4	32.5-aa	4
15-R	Low 7	32.6-X.6	6
15-S	High 6	32.7-X.1	High 6
16.1-m	4	32.8-aa	6
<b>16.2-NN.1</b>	5	<b>32.9-X.7</b>	High 7
<b>16.2-NN.2</b>	8	33.1-Z.13	4
16.3-l.2	7	33.1-Z.19	6
16.4-n	6	33.2-Z.5	1
16.5-n	4	33.2-Z.12	1
16.5-p	7	33.2-Z.17	High 6
16.6-NN.2	Low 6	33.2-Z.21	6
17-g.3	Low 4	33.2-Z.22	7
18-g.1	4	33.3-W.1	4
19-g.4	3	33.4-Z.2	High 6
20-a.2	4	33.4-q	6
21-DD	Low 6	33.5-T.2	5
22-g.2	Low 6	33.6-KK	Low 4
24-g.3	4	<b>33.7-Z.9</b>	8
24-g.5	5	33.7-Z.10	8
24-FF	High 6	33.7-r.2	1
25-b	3	33.7-r.4	High 6
25-m	6	33.8-Z.13	Low 6

## THE ISSUES OF 1787, Continued

VARIETY	RARITY	VARIETY	RARITY
33.8-Z.19	7	<b>33.29-Z.25</b>	8
33.9-s.2	2	33.29-gg.1	6
33.10-W.6	High 7	33.30-EE	Low 7
33.10-Z.7	Low 7	33.30-SS	High 7
33.10-Z.8	High 5	33.31-gg.2	7
33.11-Z.18	5	33.32-Z.13	2
33.11-gg.1	6	33.33-Z.3	Low 6
33.12-W.3	High 7	33.33-Z.11	High 5
<b>33.12-Z.10</b>	8	33.34-W.2	6
33.12-Z.16	High 4	33.34-Z.3	6
33.12-Z.21	7	33.34-Z.11	6
33.12-Z.24	High 7	<b>33.35-Z.1</b>	8
33.13-Z.1	High 6	33.35-Z.9	8
33.13-Z.6	6	33.36-T.1	High 5
33.13-Z.7	6	33.36-T.2	2
33.13-q	8	<b>33.36-T.3</b>	8
33.13-ff.1	High 7	33.36-SS	8
33.13-hh.2	High 7	33.37-Z.9	4
<b>33.14-Z.2</b>	8	<b>33.37-Z.11</b>	8
33.14-Z.14	5	33.38-Z.1	5
33.15-r.1	2	33.38-Z.6	High 6
33.16-T.2	High 7	33.38-Z.18	8
33.16-Z.15	3	33.38-Z.23	6
33.16-l.2	6	33.38-gg.1	High 6
33.17-r.1	3	<b>33.39-Z.13</b>	High 7
33.17-r.5	High 7	33.39-Z.20	High 7
33.17-gg.2	3	33.39-s.1	2
33.18-Z.24	8	33.40-Z.1	High 6
33.19-Z.1	2	33.40-Z.2	7
33.19-Z.2	3	33.41-Z.11	High 7
<b>33.19-Z.4</b>	8	33.42-Z.2	High 7
33.19-q	7	33.43-q	6
33.20-Z.9	Low 6	33.43-hh.2	Low 6
33.20-Z.11	8	33.44-W.3	6
33.21-Z.13	7	33.45-W.2	High 6
<b>33.21-k.4</b>	High 7	<b>33.46-Z.21</b>	High 7
<b>33.21-EE</b>	High 7	<b>33.46-Z.22</b>	8
33.22-II	8	<b>33.47-TT</b>	8
33.23-Z.4	4	<b>33.48-Z.25</b>	8
33.23-hh.2	High 6	34-k.3	8
33.24-Z.10	High 7	34-ff.1	5
33.25-W.3	Low 7	36-k.3	8
33.25-Z.10	High 6	36-l.1	5
33.25-Z.24	High 6	36-ff.2	High 6
33.26-W.3	Low 7	37.1-cc.1	4
33.26-W.5	8	37.2-k.5	High 5
33.27-Z.16	8	37.3-i	3
33.27-r.4	6	37.4-k.1	3
<b>33.28-Z.7</b>	8	37.5-e	3
33.28-Z.11	5	37.6-B	High 7
33.28-Z.16	4	37.6-k.4	Low 6
33.28-Z.20	8	37.7-h.2	6
33.29-Z.7	6		



### THE ISSUES OF 1787 Continued

VARIETY	RARITY
37.8-k.2	3
37.8-HH	5
37.8-LL	Low 5
37.9-e	5
<b>37.10-RR.1</b>	Low 6
37.11-ff.2	5
37.12-LL	Low 7
37.12-TT	High 6
37.13-HH	5
37.14-cc.2	High 6
<b>37.15-h.3</b>	High 7
38-l.2	4
38-GG	3
39.1-h.1	6
39.1-ff.2	High 6
39.2-ee	Low 6
40-N	High 6
40-kk.1	High 6
41-ii	4
42-o	High 7
42-kk.2	4
<b>43.1-Y</b>	2
<b>43.2-X.4</b>	5
44-W.4	4
44-W.5	7
44-Z.10	High 6
45-CC	6
46-BB	Low 6
47-a.3	High 6
48-g.5	High 6
<b>48-k.3</b>	High 7
<b>49.1-Z.1</b>	High 7
<b>49.2-Z.26</b>	8
50-F	6
<b>52-G.1</b>	Low 7
<b>52-G.2</b>	8
53-FF	5
<b>56-RR.2</b>	High 7

### THE ISSUES OF 1788

VARIETY	RARITY
1-I	6
2-D	1
<b>3-B.1</b>	Low 5
<b>3-B.2</b>	High 6
4.1-B.1	6
<b>4.1-B.2</b>	8
4.1-K	5
4.2-R	High 6
5-B.2	6
6-H	6
7-E	High 5
<b>7-F.2</b>	6
7-K	High 7
8-K	High 7
9-E	High 5
10-C	6
11-G	3
12.1-E	4
<b>12.1-F.1</b>	4
12.2-C	4
12.2-E	Low 6
13-A.1	5
14.1-L.2	High 6
<b>14.1-S</b>	High 7
14.2-A.2	Low 6
15.1-L.1	5
15.2-P	Low 6
16.1-D	2
16.1-H	3
16.2-O	Low 6
16.3-N	2
<b>16.4-A.2</b>	8
16.4-L.2	Low 6
16.5-H	5
<b>16.7-P</b>	High 7
17-O	8
17-Q	Low 7

In addition to the above specimens, there are also six mules that are now actively collected along with the Connecticut series, and which are described in the main body of this article. All are **additions** to "Miller". These are as follows:

- 1787 **101-G.2**, combines the obverse of a Machin's Mills-Atlee halfpence with reverse G.2 of the 1787 Connecticut series. Also known as **Vlack 13-87CT**. Low Rarity 7.
- 1788 **101-D**, combines the same Machin's Mills-Atlee halfpence obverse with reverse D of the 1788 Connecticut series. Also known as **Vlack 13-88CT**. Rarity 3.
- 1788 **100-I**, combines a different obverse of a Machin's Mills-Atlee halfpence, with reverse I of the 1788 Connecticut series. Also known as **Vlack 22-88VT**, **Ryder 31**, and **Bressett 24-U.** Rarity 2.
- 1788 **125-I**, combines a Vermont obverse and reverse I of the 1788 Connecticut series. Also known as **Ryder 25** and **Bressett 16-U**. Rarity 3 (several die states, the latest, with shattered dies, is Rarity 7)
- 1788 **128-I**, combines a different Vermont obverse, with the same reverse as above. Also known as **Ryder 28** and **Bressett 21-U**. High Rarity 5
- 1788 **129-I**, combines yet another Vermont obverse with the same reverse as above. Also known as **Ryder 29** and **Bressett 21-U**. Rarity 4 (shattered die state is High Rarity 6).

# NUMISMATIC News and Notes

## COAC 1991 Money of Pre-Federal America

Summary of Papers  
by  
Michael Hodder; Wolfeboro, NH

We are pleased to present in our *Numismatic News and Notes* feature this summary, prepared by CNL Patron Michael Hodder, of the papers presented at the American Numismatic Society (ANS) "Coinage of the Americas Conference, 1991" on May 4, 1991 at the Society headquarters at Broadway & 155th Street in New York City. JCS

### Richard G. Doty "Coinage Technology In Early Massachusetts"

Presented evidence first noted by Hodder for the use of a *taschenwerke*, rocker press (cf., Cooper: The Art & Craft of Coinmaking) in the Boston mint. This shows up most obviously as elongation of denticles at 12:00 and two parallel "S" bends on flans of some varieties of Oak 1/- and large planchet Pines. Doty believes that all Oaks were coined on a rocker press, but that there might be evidence for the use of a roller press on coins showing only one bend.

### John M. Kleeberg "The New Yorke In America Token"

The New Yorke in America token's device of displayed eagle on a ragulated staff with oak leaf finials is identical to the crest found on the arms of William Lovelace, governor of New York 1663-1673. The erotic type of Cupid and Venus(?) is a rebus for Lovelace's name. The token, therefore, was a farthing struck by Lovelace for use in New York. Dies possibly cut in Bristol (by inference) and tokens struck there.

### Eric P. Newman "Unusual Printing Features In Early American Printed Money"

Presented a slide demonstration of numerous printer's mistakes and expediences on currency plates pre-1792. The long delay in obtaining royal approval for colonial issues required printer's to run off currency as quickly as possible once permission for the emission had been received.

Continued >>>>

**Michael Hodder "The Brasher Lima-Style Doubloon"**

Offered evidence for the authenticity of the Brasher Lima style doubloon. The weights and metallic analyses of the Lima and New York style doubloons are essentially identical. The "EB" counterstamp is identical on both (Johns Hopkins University. SEM measurements and Hodder's film print overlay). The Lima style is dated 1786 on its obverse and its EB punch is in an earlier state than on the NY style pieces. The Lima style was struck first, followed by the unique punch on breast, punch on wing, then half doubloon. Patterns of rust in the EB punch allow for authentication of other putative "EB" counterstamped pieces.

**Joseph R. Lasser "Pennsylvania's Currency Signers, 1723-1785"**

A sociological study of the signers of Pennsylvania currency emissions. Most signers 1720-1783 were from the wealthier merchant class, with few "gentlemen" and fewer professional politicians. Most were Quakers. From 1776 onwards, smaller merchants and political radicals show up as signers, indicating a social revolution in Philadelphia. That many of the same individuals signed multiple emissions is explained by the small pool of eligibles: Ben Franklin noted once that in one election one-half of the white male population voted, amounting to only 2,000 persons.

**Dr. Philip Mossman "Weight Analysis of Connecticut Coppers"**

Presented an extremely detailed gravimetric analysis of the Connecticut coppers struck from dies sunk from Buell's complex hubs. Mossman believes that 1785 issues that were light in weight resulted from unfamiliarity with coining by the Company for Coining Coppers (CCC). Later issues of the CCC are full 144 grain weight. Jarvis' issues were deliberately underweight, since he *could* coin Fugios to their prescribed standard. There may be some correlation between punctuation styles (particularly those using crosses), weights, and mints. An emission sequence is badly needed for all Connecticut coppers groups.

**Alan M. Stahl "American Indian Peace Medals of the Colonial Period"**

A slide essay on early American Indian peace medals. The obverse for the George III young head medal, strikes known both solid and shell, was in use for over 40 years. Thus, the Lion and Wolf reverse need not necessarily refer to the Pontiac Rebellion. These dies may have been made locally in America. No evidence exists that the central government authorized medals for the Indians (unlike the French experience), and British Indian peace medals were probably ordered by local royal governors, dies cut in America, and medals struck in the colonies.

**Exhibits**

Massachusetts silver from the collections of. Andy Hain, Alan Weinberg, Eric Newman, Tony Terranova, Stack's, Joe Lasser, and the ANS. Condition overall outstanding.

**Highlights:**

Oak 1/-N-13, 14: clear evidence of rocker dies used; late state Pine 1/- N-8; unique N-12 ex -Castine Hoard; multiple NE 1/-; ANS Brasher NY style doubloon and "EB" counterstamped British and Portuguese gold; Pennsylvania currency; 18th century gold scales.

